2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1936) 1939 NVS Tzeltal NVS

114 chiefly at Tenejapa and Cancuc. In 1925 Blom and LaFarge[1] entered the Tzeltal country from the north, visiting Bachajón, Sivacá, Tenango, Cancuc, Tenejapa, and Amatenango. These authors have published a short general account[2] of the culture of these people. In 1928 the John Geddings Gray Memorial Expedition of the Tulane University of Louisiana passed through the villages of Ococingo and Sivaca, and visited the hacienda "El Real." At this last place Carlos Basauri, a member of the expedition, collected notes on the Tzeltals.[3] Marcos E. Becerra, who was for ten years head of the Department of Public Education of Chiapas, assembled information on the languages, ethnography, and history of the Indians of the highlands and of other parts of the state.[4] Dr. Ruth Bunzel has spent some time recently in the region, her materials are unpublished.

101 361 The Tzeltal-speaking communities may be divided into those situated in the highlands (Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Cancuc, Oxchuc, San Martin, and Tenango), and those situated at less than 1000 m. above sea level and that consequently enjoy a warmer climate (Sivaca, Ococingo, Bachajon, Cirala, Guaquitepec, Chilon, Yajalón, and Petalcingo).

133 In general the State of Chiapas is highly dissected and mountainous. It is crossed from east to west with three cordilleras, with subdivisions into various branches which cross with one another to form a complicated orographic system.[5] The ranges which cross the Tzeltal region are those belonging to the Cordillera de Huitepec,[6] reaching an altitude of 2597 m. above sea level[7] in a mountain of this name situated east of the city of Las Casas. With the exception of some [361] Chamula settlements, this is the settlement of greatest altitude (2110 m. above sea level)[8] in the entire state. From this point and continuing northward are to be found the other pueblos Villa visited. The land decreases in altitude until it reaches the Ococingo Valley where there is a sharp descent of 600 m. From here on, the terrain is not so dissected and the altitude is less than 1000 m. above sea level and becomes gradually less.

132 [823] As is natural, the climates of these two zones present marked differences which have given rise to the expressions "tierra fria" and "tierra caliente" by which the natives distinguish them. The former refers to the higher region where, according to Amram, "The temperature rarely falls below freezing, though in November, 1935, it dropped as low as 24° F. During the long dry period, when for weeks at a time no rain falls, the temperature in the shade occasionally rises above 75°, and the temperature in the sun may reach well over 100°. The relative humidity is low, and there are great differences between shade and sun temperatures. The nights are cool."[9]

The region of the tierra caliente begins in the Valley of Ococingo and the temperature rises as one goes northward. At Salto de Agua, 73 m. above sea level, one experiences tropical heat.

[1] Blom and LaFarge, 1927
[2] *Ibid.*, 2: 324-402
[3] Basauri, 1931
[4] Becerra, 1933 and 1933
[5] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20. See also Waibel, 1933, pp. 69–77
[6] Santiabañez, 1911; p. 7
[7] Emeterio Pineda, 1845, p. 20
[8] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2: 318
[9] *Ibid.*, 2: 377
[10] Amram, 1937, p. 52

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 MV9 Tzeltal MV9

a marriage was incestuous in the same sense as marriage between close relations. These surnames are transmitted patrilineally. Of ten informants in Chanal, nine gave their Indian surnames; the tenth said he had none. Furthermore, in cases where potential spouses have the same Spanish surname but different Indian surnames—and such cases occur—marriage between such persons is similarly discouraged. And in San Martin, Tenango, Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo, where apparently the Indian surnames do not exist, Villa received information to the effect that marriage between persons of the same Spanish surname is disapproved.[71]

Indian surnames noted by Villa, with translations offered him, follow:

CHANAL: Yemuc (large mouth), Xampil, Tiib, Calabal, Chicó, Cories, Comistal.

TENEJAPA: Tzurin (sowing?), Hoviltzil (mad dog), Uacax (cow), Chacax (?), Mee-mut (mother hen), Lobal (banana), Ton (stone).

CANCUC: Cxom, Say, Chig-yax, Coreta, Caxlan-pucú, Hokob-canela.

OXCHUC: Chinbac (small bone), Aquilan (from Aquilar), Chichol (tomato), Barsen (*pinto*), Nimail (squash-tip), Holchi (deer head).

In all the highland villages information was given to the effect that each *pueblo* (town, with its rural population, if any) is endogamous; in most instances the endogamy was represented as absolute. As some of the communities include only a few score of households, the matter requires further investigation.

The communities of Cancuc, Oxchuc, and Bachajón (and apparently only these) are divided into antagonistic sub-communities called *calpules*. (Neither Starr nor Blom and LaFarge give information on this point.) In each case an imaginary east-west line across the plaza divides the northern lands of the one calpul from the southern lands of the other. In Cancuc (at least) the lands of the north are considered "hot," those of the south "cold," with corresponding favorable and unfavorable connotations as to their fertility. In Cancuc the northern calpul is called either *muhul calpul* 'large calpul' or else *alankuluhibal*; the southern is called *bikit calpul* 'small calpul' or else *kalankuluhibal*. Each calpul (*barrio* to the Ladinos) had its own government, established by the members of each calpul independently of the formal local government, which, recognized by the state and national authorities, acts for both calpules in matters that must be taken to the outside authorities. In Oxchuc the calpul officers are one *presidente*, two *alcaldes* or *cantakines*, two *gobernadores*, two *calinab* 'very respected chiefs,'

[71] Among the Lacandons there are patrilineal, totemically named kinships grouped into two exogamous phratries (Soustelle, 1936), it is likely that among the ancient Maya of Yucatan there was surname exogamy. Landa says (Section XXIV), "... the Indians consider all of the same name related, and treat them accordingly. Thus also no man or woman marries another of the same name, because this was for them a great infamy" (Gates, 1937, p. 40). Landa also says (Section XXV), "... nor did they ever marry one bearing their own name on the father's side, for this was considered a very bad thing." On the subject of Maya names, Roys says, "The Maya family name, which was perpetuated in the male line, survived the Conquest, but the old pagan pre-names were abolished and replaced by Spanish Christian names when the Indians were baptized. Two varieties of pre-names are well known: one, indicating a man's profession or office, and the other, derived from his mother and preceded by the prefix Na. The Maya called the latter the 'naal' and there were also two other classes of pre-names, which they called the 'boy-name' and the 'jesting name.' Many of the 'boy-names' are referable to fauna-names, especially those of birds, while some of the 'jesting-names' appear to be descriptive. It seems to have been possible for a single person to have borne all four names." Roys, 1934, p. 106.

162 Amatenango del Valle, a community of 2,529 inhabitants, of which 1,470 reside in the town center.

621 The town centers are divided into two sections, called barrios by Ladinos and calpules by Indians (Oxchuc and Cancuc). The imaginary line which separates one barrio from another passes through the center of the town, sometimes east-west, sometimes north-south, with no fixed orientation.

[776] Each barrio has its own local authorities and sometimes its own patron saint (Oxchuc and Bachajon). The principal function of the barrios was not only political or religious but also social, in regulating mar-

[178] riage. Endogamy was common to all barrios, but today that rule is losing its rigidity. In Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 8) tells us that, "The rule of barrio endogamy, which is viable in 86% of the known marriages, contributes to the localization of related families limiting the geographical range of marriage choice." A similar situation obtains in Amatenango (J. Nash, 1959, p. 3), Cancuc (Guiteras Holmes, 1947, p. 7), and Bachajon (Guiteras Holmes, 1961c, p. 167).

[178] In Bachajon, Guiteras Holmes states that:
"In the old days there was no marriage be-
[578] tween the *barrios*. If a boy from San Sebastian took a walk through San Geronimo, he was beaten; they would give him a '*maciza*,' as they say. If a boy from a *barrio* approached the waterholes to court a girl, he fared very badly." The calpules of Oxchuc, although they have politico-religious significance, have no influence at all in the selection of wives.

621 The parajes have a few scattered huts
778 among the cultivated fields. Each paraje is
[361] bound by religious ties to a given cave where a cross, the supreme sacred symbol, is kept. The name of the paraje is generally
778 taken from the name of the cave. Sacred
821 caves of secondary importance also exist.
823 This mystical regard for caves is based in the belief that they are the place from which issues the lightning to punish the

[P 205-A]

natural elements (hail, wind, storms), which often threaten and destroy the cornfields.

Distribution of Huts

In the parajes as well as in the centers the tendency to cluster huts in patrilineal nuclei is strong. One perceives this tendency also where lineage or clan ties still persist (Oxchuc).

The majority of households consist of the elementary family, a couple and their offspring. The habitations include a hut, which serves as dormitory and kitchen, plus chickencoop, pigpen, and, sometimes, the temascal (*pus*) used for steam baths. Among industrious families another small hut serves exclusively as a kitchen. Seldom does a fence separate this nucleus from its neighbors, but it may protect a vegetable patch from animals. In the capital, however, each family must fence its lot.

Relationships between Communities

Communities establish commercial and other ties according to their ecological distribution and cultural condition. In the southern zone, Amatenango and Aguacatenango form a kind of unit, based on physical proximity and cultural affinity. Their residents meet frequently at the Sunday market of Teopisca. In the central zone, Oxchuc, Tenejapa, Cancuc, and Tenango, which more or less share ways of life and natural environment, form another informal association, contacts resulting from the weekly markets of Tenejaya and Yochib. In the northern zone, Sitala and Guaquitepec form another unit. Ocosingo, Chilon, and Yajalon are centers of commercial and political importance, occupied largely by Ladinos but used as trade centers by Indians throughout the northern zone.

Technology

Tools and Techniques

Farming tools are the most important: axe

[P 205-B]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

778 178 left-hand fork ended shortly. The right-hand one went on to a small level place, on which about four people could squat at once. The roof was too low to stand. In the end wall a block of rock about half a meter high and twenty centimeters broad stuck out. In front of it were eight small candlesticks in a row, a neat bundle of fir tips laid before each. More of these extended in an arc to the right, and there was a pile of spare tips and candlesticks at one side. Behind this was a square of bark resting on two stones, which showed signs of having had incense burned on it.

The second cave was more open, more of a room, high, and broken with pillars of limestone and dirt. It was caused partly by hollowing out limestone through the action of water, and partly by washing out the soil. In a quite open situation a small, square cross was leant against a rock. There was a flat board for incense, with five candlesticks on the side of the cross, and fir tips around the other three sides (see fig. 310 c).

These two caves, whether or not they were used in pre-Conquest days, do definitely represent the survival of a purely non-Christian manner of worship.

The general attitude of the Indians towards all the carvings of the Old People is not without interest. While they appear to attach no particular significance to the temples, they call all idols by the generic term of "santo." Thus the fine bas-relief found near San José Reforma, told of in the last chapter, was known to the natives as *Santo Ton*, "Saint Stone," or "Holy Stone."

782 Distinct from worship at these archaeological sites are the offerings made to the "guardian," *yaHwal*, of the cornfields, a pure old Maya rite carried on in the modern fields. This is purely family matter, at which the head of the family officiates. A cross is set up, *atole* or *cocoposole* (*posole* with cocoa and sugar) and rum are offered in bowls, candles and incense are burned, and a chicken killed. The prayer quoted on page 365 is recited at this time. The offerings are only made at the time of planting the *milpa* in the spring, and suffice also for the fall *tonamil*. As nearly as we could find out, each field has its particular guardian, an idea which was shown by the case, to be described later when speaking of magic, of a man who took steps to gain the consent of a field's guardian before putting a curse on it.

776 [823] There is a guardian of the river, *yabahen*, and of the mountains, *hun ahau*. This last is of particular interest, corresponding as it does with the old Maya day-name signifying chief. Hun Ahau is mentioned in Landa, page 200, edition of 1864, as ruler of Mitamnal or hell. As Hunahpu he may be referred to in the Popol Vuh. Two